101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, ● 241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, 511 beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cowboys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

[63] [462 231] [222] 177

[p. 10(b)]

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
177 younger women to leave area and seek education,
167 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield; young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

●[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
511 forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
222 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
224 (all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
226 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rabbits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomïp
● 241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomïp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had dis-
[262] appeared. I could straighten out my arm again. After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
● [241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
[476] dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;